No. 8 January, 1959

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

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PROGRAMME FOR 1959

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held on Thursday, February 26th, 1959, and the President of the Society, Sir Harold Parkinson, K.B.E., will preside. After the business of the meeting has been disposed of, Mr. George C. Miller will speak on "Some Blackburn Characters" with illustrations from his own sketches. Members will no doubt be familiar with Mr. Miller's recent book on Hoghton Towers.

On Thursday, May 7th, Mr. Harry Drake will speak on "Why I Love Dialect" and will include readings and illustrations in his native Yorkshire.

On Thursday, November 19th, there will be a joint meeting with the Edwin Waugh Society; Mr. Richard Holland and some of his friends from Rochdale will give us "A Neet Wi' Edwin Waugh." Members who recall other contributions from the same source will need no further recommendation.

All meetings will be held in the Arts Building of the University of Manchester and will commence at 7-30 p.m. It is hoped that members will realise that these meetings form the only occasions on which they can join in the corporate life of their Society and that a good attendance is the best possible way of thanking a speaker.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subscriptions for 1959 become due on 1st January, 1959. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Leslie Procter, Certified Accountant, Willow House, Waterfoot, Rossendale, Lancs. The subscription for libraries is 5s.; for individual members the minimum is 2s. 6d. The Life Membership subscription is £5 5s. 0d.

5/-

LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

(FOUNDED JANUARY 1951)

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LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Year ending 31st December, 1957

RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.
Subscriptions:		
Current and Arrears		21 9 0
Current Libraries		3 12 6
Paid in Advance		1 5 0
Life Members		—
Sale of Journals		16 6
Building Society Interest		3 12 8
Members' Contributions to Hornby visit		21 2 0
Balance, 31st December, 1956:		
Current Account	12 0 10	
Bradford Equitable Building Society	106 19 10	
		119 0 8
		£170 18 4

PAYMENTS.		£ s. d.
Speaker's Expenses		2 2 0
Postages and Stationery		4 1 6
Bank Commission		3 6
Visit to President at Hornby Castle		21 10 0
East Lancashire Weekly Newspapers Ltd.: December 1956 Journal, No. 6		46 10 0
Balance, 31st December 1957:		
Martin's Bank Limited	12 8 10	
Bradford Equitable Building Society	84 2 6	
		96 11 4
		£170 18 4

Note: The accounts for printing the Dec. 1957 Journal and the Secretary and Treasurer's expenses have not been received.

Audited and found correct,
S. ROBERTS,
13th February, 1958.

LESLIE PROCTER,
Hon. Treasurer.
31st January, 1958.

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Wooler, Mrs. M. A., Langcliffe, 5, Acre Gate, off Highfield Road, Blackpool, S.S.

NEW LIFE MEMBER:

Hankinson, Rev. Frederick, 46, Antrim Mansions, Hampstead, London, N.W.

EDITORIAL

A dialect society cannot hope to keep in touch with its members through meetings alone, and for most members the Journal is the chief medium of communication. It is pleasing, therefore, to record an increase in the number of contributions during recent months; in fact there is enough material in hand to double the size of the Journal if it were financially possible. Unfortunately, in order to include some of this material, it has been necessary to change our format. It has been usual in the past to print the names and addresses of members along with the names of officials at the end of each issue. This year, in order to keep within our self-imposed limit of forty-four pages, the names and addresses of all but new members have been omitted. It is hoped that it will be possible to give a complete list of members every two or three years in future, a practice followed by most societies of this kind.

Amongst this year's contributors are Professor and Mrs. Raven McDavid of the University of Chicago, who have sent us an account of the study and distribution of American dialects. Professor McDavid is chief field-worker for the projected dialect atlas of America, and we are fortunate to have an article from one who can speak with such authority on the subject.

Mr. Shaw's article on the speech of Liverpool in our last issue provoked a deal of interest and comment amongst members. In this issue Mr. Shaw, who has contributed to *Punch* from time to time, moves on to a fresh aspect of his subject. We are especially pleased to include here some details of the recent survey of farming terms in Lancashire and Cheshire, undertaken for the Society by Major Boyd. Major Boyd's article shows that, in spite of the difficulties involved, the Society is pursuing the purposes for which it was formed.

Members will be sorry to hear of the death of our chairman, Mr. William Fox. A founder member of the Society, he was one of the oldest and most regular attenders at our meetings, in which he always took an active part, as well as contributing to the Journal. He lived a full life, travelled widely, and was at home with many dialects. As chairman he served us well, 'to th' edge o' dark', and his loss will be keenly felt.

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN DIALECTS*—I.

By RAVEN I. McDAVID, J.P., and VIRGINIA McDAVID

There are two major difficulties in interpreting the study of American dialects to an English audience. One of these arises from the nature of the dialectal situation in Western Hemisphere English, the other from the amount and kinds of work which scholars are at present engaged in.

The differences in the dialectal situation itself spring, of course, from the social environment of the New World. Americans, traditionally, have always been on the move; relatively few—especially in the larger cities—are living in the same community in which they were born, so that it is a standing joke that more native Iowans, for instance, are to be found in Los Angeles than in the entire state of Iowa. What is more, this obvious geographic mobility has been accompanied by an almost equally obvious social mobility, the well-advertised "American dream" by which an ambitious small farmer might become a wealthy planter, a sailor a successful merchant, a mechanic an industrial magnate; and even with the closing of the frontier and the tightening of economic class lines, there are enough self-made men rising every year to keep the tradition alive. To be sure, such mobility—geographic and social—has not been unknown in England itself; but the physical distances in England were never so great, and the rise of new people has always taken place against an assumed background of a stable social organization. In the New World, the mobile, ambitious, and restless elements of the population, selected by the very fact of their having given up their old environment and moved, came into a situation where there were few established values, but where status came to the one who could best seize and exploit the new resources before him.

Beside this fundamentally different situation, many other forces brought it about that dialect patterns in English-speaking North America should become different from anything conceivable in Old-World terms. True, there were a few communities, mostly small ones, founded by deliberate colonization from a specific English source, much as the Greek colonies were established between 800 and 500 B.C. in Italy, Sicily, and the Western Mediterranean; equally true, certain New World regions drew their settlers predominantly from restricted areas of the British Isles. But by and large, every American colony was an area of dialect mixture, with almost every British dialect contributing. And from the beginning there were important non-English-speaking elements in the population: Holland Dutch in New York and New Jersey, Swedes and Finns in New Jersey and Delaware, Palatinate Germans in Pennsylvania and New York, Moravians in North Carolina, Salzburgers in Georgia, Huguenot French and

* Notes to this article, which are too extensive to be printed here, will be printed at the end of the second instalment in our next issue. (Ed.).

Sephardic Jews in South Carolina. As the English-speaking colonists and later the United States extended their domination over all of North America above the Rio Grande, they incorporated into their society, more or less successfully, the population of older French and Spanish colonial areas, as well as the remnants of the linguistically diverse American Indian tribes. New lands on the frontiers, new manpower needs for heavy industries in expanding metropolitan areas, attracted waves of settlement from virtually all parts of Europe and some sections of Asia; the temporary flowering of the plantation system in the South led to the importation of Negro slaves in large numbers from various parts of West Africa. Few of these ethnic minorities have kept their languages functioning as the principal means of communication, into the third generation, against the pressure of the surrounding English-speaking society; none of them, not even the clannish and favoured Quebec French, have failed to experience some influence of English on their languages. But in turn, almost everyone of these groups has contributed something to American English—generally vocabulary, less often syntactic constructions, occasionally even details of inflection or pronunciation. Throughout wide areas certain speech habits of the Pennsylvania German, the 'Cajun' (Arcadian) French of Louisiana, the Minnesota Scandinavian, are widely recognized.

A third basic difference in the American situation lies in the impact of the forces of industrialization, urbanization, and mass education. Although these forces have been most prominent in the middle of the twentieth century, they have been operating since the establishment of the first English speaking colonies. Where there was conscious planning, the colonizers did not seek to establish subsistence agriculture, but new sources of special products in demand in England—tea, silk, indigo, tobacco, rice. At a very early stage, towns were established, seaports at first, as foci of the economic and cultural life of the colonies. From the beginning especially where the Puritan tradition was dominant, there has been a strong faith in the value of education and a desire to provide education for the largest possible number. These forces have in turn increased the amount of dialect mixture, serving to blunt the edge of both regional and social differences.

Finally—perhaps as a resultant of all the other forces—it has been much harder to determine what is 'dialect' and what is 'standard' in the New World than in the Old. As long as the accidents of family history could make one brother a blacksmith and another a judge, and both valued citizens of the community, differentiation between standard and non-standard usage could be only a relative, not an absolute matter. Since there was, and still is, no community whose economic and cultural prestige overshadowed the rest of the country, no dominant city comparable to London in England or Paris in France, it was inevitable that regional differences should develop in cultivated speech as well as in that of the uneducated. And since there has been variation in the social structure from the beginning,

with paternalistic plantation castes in one region and equalitarian democracy in another, the spread between cultivated and folk usage was bound to vary from place to place. Nor despite the increasing social uniformity brought about by the mass-production economy of the twentieth century, have such differences yet disappeared. The cultivated speech of Boston is still different from that of Chicago or that of Charleston, South Carolina; and in both Boston and Charleston, wider differences exist between educated and uneducated speech than one will find in the Middle West.

These facts have been known to students of American English for several decades. Both scholars and lay observers repeatedly commented on the American situation during the nineteenth century, and their observations have been summarized in such works as George Philip Krapp's *The English Language in America* (2 vol., New York, 1925) and the successive versions of H. L. Mencken's *American Language* (1st ed., New York, 1919; 4th edition [completely revised] 1936; Supplement One, 1945, Supplement Two, 1948), and for German students it has been summarized in Hans Galinsky's *Die Sprache Der Amerikaner* (2 vol., Heidelberg, 1951-52). These accounts, however, normally do not take up the study of American dialects in detail, but rather—as is proper—incorporate information about dialects into a more general treatment of American English. More extensive treatments of American dialects are pending, but have not yet reached publication.

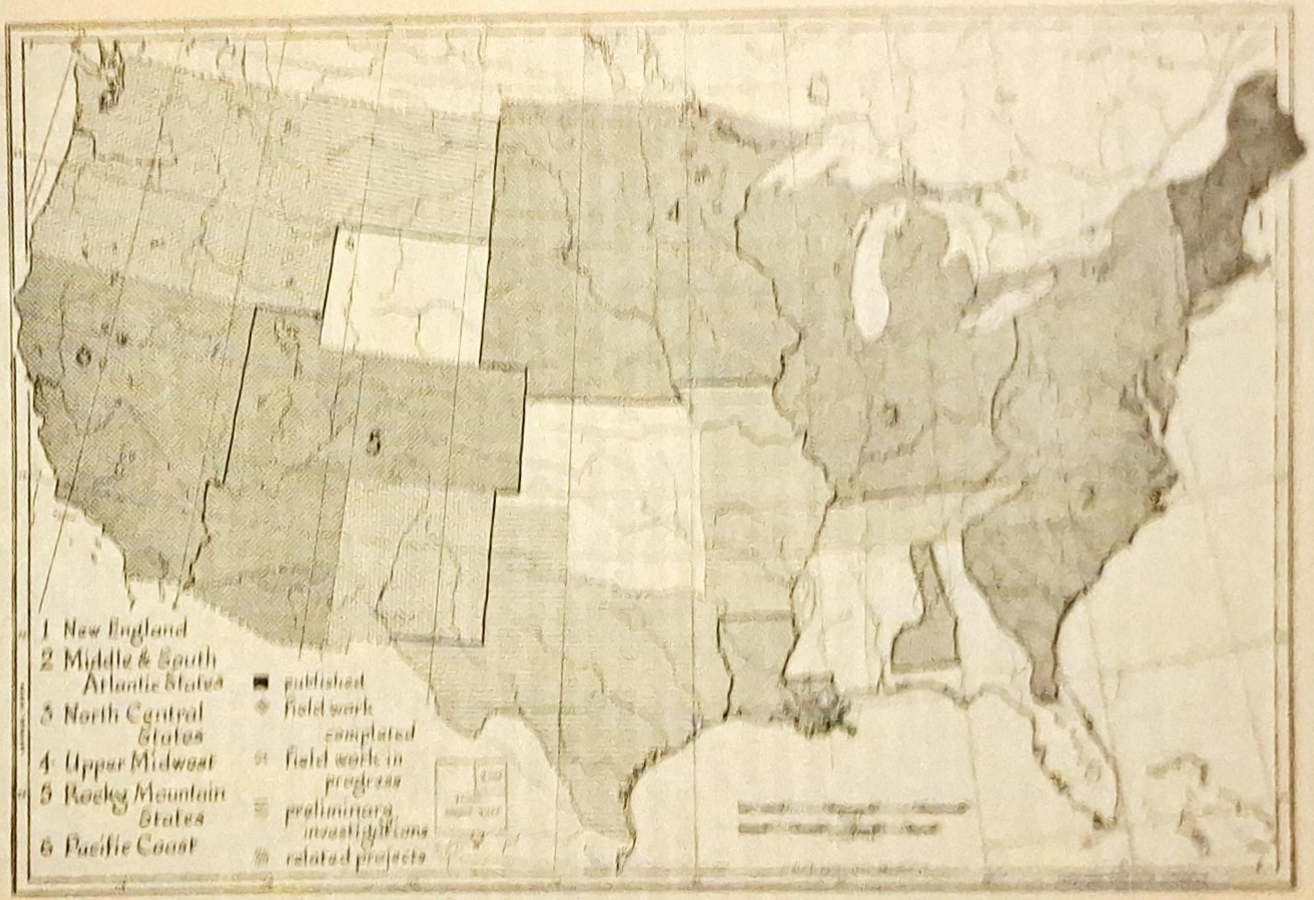
Organized study of American dialects began with the formation of the American Dialect Society (1889), in emulation of the English Dialect Society, which not only had inaugurated its extensive series of local studies but had sponsored and was in the act of publishing Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* and the accompanying *English Dialect Grammar*. The American Dialect Society numbered among its early membres most of the serious students of the English language in the American academic community or on the outside, such as Charles S. Grandgent of Harvard, Georg Hempl of Michigan, and Oliver F. Emerson of Western Reserve University, whose description of the dialect of Ithaca, New York, (1891) was not only the first systematic description of an American dialect, but the first dissertation on an American topic to be accepted by the English department of an American university. Nevertheless, despite some admirable publications in the original journal *Dialect Notes*, and a generally stimulating effect on the study of the American vernacular, the Society as originally constituted never measured up to the hopes of its founders. Its membership was always limited, as were the funds at its disposal; it neither attracted as large a number of talented amateurs as did its English model, nor did it become an indispensable medium for furthering professional ambitions, like the Modern Language Association of American for modern literature or the American Philological Association for the classicists. Only six volumes of *Dialect Notes*, appeared in nearly half a century (1890-1939), and even in the last issues, save those devoted to the publication

of the third volume of Thornton's *American Glossary*, a disproportionate number of the contributions were desultory and unorganized lists of curiosa, such as had been outdated by the advance of dialect studies in Europe. Not until a complete reorganization was effected in 1942 did the American Dialect Society regain the vitality it had had in its early years, and a further decade elapsed before it regained its stature as a learned organization.

Yet at no time did Americans lose interest in their dialect differences, regardless of the fluctuating interest in the Dialect Society itself. The variety of the American scene and mobility of the American population made it inevitable that individual Americans would continually come in contact with words or pronunciations outside the usage of their region or social group. The rising enrolments in high schools and colleges posed practical problems as to how far these regional and social variations could be reconciled to the concept of cultivated speech as different from uncultivated. And as the newer discipline of linguistics replaced the older philology, American scholars like those in Europe acquired a new understanding of the relationship between dialects and the standard language. As the European linguistic atlases—those of Wenker and Wrede in Germany, of Gilliéron in France, or Jaberg and Jud in Italy and Southern Switzerland—showed that dialect differences could be correlated with known or probable data on population origins, political and ecclesiastical boundaries, trading areas and routes of communication, such scholars felt that the time had come to test the conclusions of the European atlases against the newer situation and more accessible historical data in North America. For this reason, when a linguistic atlas of the United States and Canada was first proposed in 1929, it won wide support from a diversity of organizations: the National Council of Teachers of English, the Modern Language Association, the Linguistic Society of America, and the American Dialect Society. So that work might be most effectively co-ordinated and funds secured from foundations and other groups, the project was sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and Hans Kurath, then of Ohio State University, was chosen as director,[1] a role in which he has continued till the present. For various practical reasons, however, he has exerted direct supervision over only the work along the Atlantic Seaboard, though for the other regional surveys he has served as adviser and consultant.

The principles upon which American linguistic geography has been developed are drawn from the experience of European scholars: (1) a network of selected communities, (2) representative native informants from each community, (3) a questionnaire of selected items, (4) trained field workers, (5) a conversational situation. Each of these principles has been modified somewhat according to the regional situation.

(1) In New England, the first area investigated, the community unit was the township, the most significant unit of local government. The communities were about fifteen to twenty miles apart along the



MAP 1. PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN DIALECT ATLAS

coast, in the areas of earliest settlement, more widely separated inland. Elsewhere the county was taken as the basic community unit, though the facts of cultural and political history sometimes enabled the investigators to consider two or more counties as a unit, and sometimes required them to divide a county into two communities. In the Middle and South Atlantic States nearly all of the older counties were investigated; further west, on an average, about a third of the counties or an average of twenty-five to thirty communities in each state.

A community might be chosen for any one of a number of valid reasons. All of the earliest permanent settlements were included, and most of the important cultural foci, since it was important to assay the influence of metropolitan areas on American English. Some communities were chosen because they had declined from a once proud state; others because they had always been relatively isolated by rivers, swamps, or mountains. Some had been established along routes of migration or communication; others had had a peculiar history of settlement by more or less compact bodies of immigrants—Albion, Illinois, by direct migration from England; Effingham County, Georgia, by Salzburger Germans in the early eighteenth century; the copper country of northern Michigan by Cornish miners.

(2) Because of the peculiar American dialect situation, it was adjudged impracticable to limit investigation to one type of informant, or to a single informant in each community. Rather, to evaluate the changes in the dialect situation, two types of informants were nearly always interviewed; (a) a representative of the oldest native generation, with a minimum of education and travel; (b) someone from the middle-aged generation with about a high-school education and somewhat more sophistication. In about a fifth of the communities cultured informants—representatives of the older families, with a college education or equivalent—were also interviewed; in the more important communities there were often several such informants—six in New York City, four each in Philadelphia and Charleston; three each in Rochester, Baltimore and Richmond. Thus the American Atlases are able to assay social differences and the dimension of time.

(3) The questionaire was designed to sample pronunciation and grammar as well as vocabulary. In vocabulary, since the important function of such an Atlas is to establish major and minor patterns of regional distribution, not only relics were investigated but some innovations as well—local designations for such technical developments of the nineteenth century as kerosene (British *paraffin*), the baby carriage (British *perambulator*), or paved side-walks (British *pavement*) restricted in the United States to the neighbourhood of Philadelphia). Arranged topically according to areas of everyday experience—time of day, weather, the house, the farm, clothing, topography, animals, food, fruits and vegetables, trees and shrubs, family and social relationships, mental and physical states, religion and superstition, business and sports—the longer questionnaires used along the Atlantic Seaboard comprised some 700-800 items. Somewhat briefer

questionaires have been used in other regions, ranging from 525 for the early investigations in the North Central States to about 700 on the Pacific Coast. To supplement the field investigations in the more recently settled areas, multiple choice checklists of 100-150 items have been distributed by mail. 2

(4) Although none of the American field workers lays claim to the perfection attributed to Edmont by Gilliéron, all of them have had wide experience in linguistic science as well as a sound training in phonetics; most of them have had some experience investigating and recording American Indian languages or other non-Indo-European linguistic systems. A majority are also competent regional or local historians.

For New England, nine fieldworkers were used, though two of them, Guy S. Lowman, Jr., and Bernard Bloch, conducted three-fifths of the interviews. For the Middle and South Atlantic States, Lowman did about three-fourths of the work, R. I. McDavid, Jr., the rest. In other regions, where the support of the project has depended on local arrangements, fieldworkers have been relatively numerous. By and large, however, the practice has been for a new investigator to accompany an experienced one on at least one field trip before undertaking interiews on his own. Only in the rare instances where this precaution has been disregarded can the validity of the investigations be called into question.

(5) Normally the interview proceeds by indirect questioning, with detailed phonetic recording on the spot. To save time, some interviewers have made tape recordings and waited to make the transcription until after they have returned to their base; other interviewers have made tape recordings simultaneously with their field transcriptions, and have utilized the tapes as checks on the impressionistic field transcriptions and as sources of spontaneous utterances, especially of grammatical forms. 3

Since 1930, some dialect investigations have been undertaken in almost every part of the United States and Canada though work has proceeded more rapidly in some sections than in others. (See Map 1). In New England, field work was begun in 1931 and completed two years later. In 1939 appeared the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* and the first volume of the *Linguistic atlas of New England*; publication was completed in 1943.

In the Middle and South Atlantic States, field work began in 1934 and continued steadily till Lowman's death in 1941. McDavid, Lowman's successor, began field work in 1941, but the involvement of the United States in World War II delayed serious work till 1946. For these areas the field work was completed in 1949 but as yet no funds have been made available for editing and publishing.

In the North-Central States (Wisconsin, Michigan, Southern Ontario, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky), preliminary field work was undertaken in the summers of 1938 and 1939, and the

survey of Wisconsin was conducted shortly afterwards. For the other states of this region, full-scale fieldwork began in 1948 and is now practically complete. In this region the work is under the direction of Albert H. Marckwardt, of the University of Michigan, with R. I. McDavid Jr. of the University of Chicago as associate director. Preliminary editorial work is already under way.

In the Upper Midwest (Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and the Dakotas) the investigations have been directed by Harold B. Allen of the University of Minnesota. Field work is complete, and preliminary editing is far advanced.

In the Rocky Mountain region field work, begun in the summer of 1950, is complete in two states—Colorado and Utah—with the Arizona investigations due for completion this summer, a few records complete in Montana, and an indeterminate amount of work accomplished in New Mexico. In this region the project is under the direction of Professor Marjorie Kimmerle of the University of Colorado, with important contributions from John McKendrick of Bingham Young University (Provo, Utah), Klonda Lynn of the University of Arizona, and T. M. Pearce of the University of New Mexico.

In the Pacific Coast region, work was begun only in 1952, but it has proceeded rapidly since that time, thanks to the fact that the University of California, has a large budget for faculty research. Work in California and Nevada has been directed by David W. Reed of the University of California at Berkeley, with John Moncur of the University of California at Los Angeles as associate director; for Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana by Carroll E. Reed of the University of Washington, with David DeCamp of Washington State College as associate director. As in other areas, not all the work has proceeded smoothly: only very limited funds have been available for work in Oregon, and both associate directors have left the region for new positions elsewhere. Still, work in California and Nevada is essentially complete, that in Washington rather far advanced.

No systematic work has been conducted over wide areas in Texas, the Gulf States, and the lower Mississippi Valley. In Texas, E. Bagby Atwood has directed a large-scale study of the folk vocabulary, and one of his students, Arthur M. Z. Norman, has done an intensive ivestigation of the Beaumont area in south eastern Texas. In Louisiana, several projects have been undertaken: students of C. M. Wise (Louisiana State University) have conducted more than a hundred field interviews; Norman has begun an intensive study of New Orleans speech; Sumner Ives (Tulane University, New Orleans) has collaborated with sociologists in a study of the correlation between pronunciation and social class. In Alabama there are two important studies: James B. McMillan's study, The Phonology of the standard English of East Central Alabama (MS dissertation, University of Chicago, 1946) and Madie Ward Barrett's A Phonology of Southeast Alabama Speech (MS dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1949). Gordon Wood (University of Chattanooga)

has begun a check-list study of the folk vocabulary of Tennessee, and hopes to extend this study into adjacent states.

Canadian English has been little studied, except as field-workers for the America regional atlases have included communities across the border. However, live interest exists in Canada, and the Canadian Linguistic Association is drafting plans for surveys of Canadian English and Canadian French, as well as for dictionaries. The most intense interest to date has been shown by the Memorial University of Newfoundland, where studies of place names, a dialect lexicon ,and a provincial linguistic atlas will probably be completed within the next few years.

Despite the delays in editing and publishing the data gathered outside New England, interpretative works have already begun to appear. Two of these are book-length studies, published by the University of Michigan Press : Kurath's *Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (1949), and Atwood's *Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States* (1953). A third work in this series, *The Pronunciation of English in the Eastern United States*, by Kurath and McDavid, will appear in 1959. Numerous shorter articles have also appeared, and the following dissertations completed :

W. S. Avis : The Mid-Back Vowels as in Coat and Home (Michigan, 1956)

Bernard Bloch : Post-Vocalic *-r* in New England (Brown, 1933)

Fred Brengelman : American English Spoken in the Puget Sound Area of Washington (Washington, 1957)

Jane E. Daddow : The Speech of the Hudson Valley (Brown 1940)

Alva L. Davis : A Word Atlas of the Great Lakes Region (Michigan, 1949)

Elizabeth J. Dearden : A Word Atlas of the South Atlantic States (Brown, 1943)

David DeCamp : The Pronunciation of English in San Francisco (California, 1954)

James W. Downer : The Dialect of the *Biglow Papers* Michigan, 1958)

Yakira H. Frank : The Speech of New York City (Michigan, 1949)

Rachel S. Harris : The Speech of Rhode Island (Brown, 1943)

Sumner A. Ives : The Negro Dialect of the Uncle Remus Stories (Texas, 1949)

Elizabeth Hope Jackson : An Analysis of Colorado *Atlas* Records with Regard to Settlement History and Other Factors (Colorado, 1956)

Virginia McDavid : Verb Forms in the North Central States and Upper Midwest (Minnesota, 1956)

Herbert Penzl : The Broad *a* in New England (Vienna, 1933)

Arthur M. Z. Norman : The Speech of Jefferson County, Texas (Texas, 1955) 3

Edward Potter : The Dialect of Northwestern Ohio : A Study of a Transition Area (Michigan, 1955)

Mary Sleator : The Phonology and Morphology of an American English Dialect Field Record (Indiana, 1957)

William R. Van Riper : Postvocalic /-r/ in the Eastern United States (Michigan, 1958)

Thomas Wetmore : The Low-Central and Low-Back Vowels of the Eastern United States (Michigan, 1958)

Among other dissertations currently in progress are :

Clyde Hankey : A Descriptive Study of the Linguistic Geography of Colorado : Lexicon and Morphology (Michigan)

Robert Howren : The Speech of Louisville, Kentucky (Indiana)

Helen Wong Kao : The High-Back Vowels in the Eastern United States (Michigan)

Roger W. Shuy : The Speech of Summit County, Ohio (Western Reserve)

Juanita Williamson : The Negro Speech of Memphis, Tennessee (Michigan)

At the M. A. level, as well, some valuable contributions have been made, notably :

Jane E Daddow : The Speech of Chepachet, Rhode Island (Brown, 1937).

Donald Dickinson : Speech Characteristics of the Rio Grande Valley, New Maxico (New Mexico, 1952)

Christine Duncan Forrester : A Word Atlas of Kentucky (Kentucky, 1953)

Phyllis Jones (Nixon) : A Glossary of Virginia Words (Brown, 1943)

As these studies began to appear, scholars soon found it necessary to revise their traditional picture of American dialects. Largely on the basis of the putative treatment of the post-vocalic /-r/ in such words as *bird*, *beard*, *bard*, the tradition had set up a three-fold division : Eastern (New England, or eastern New England, plus New York City), Southern (the area south of the Potomac and the Ohio, plus Louisiana, Arkansas, southeastern Missouri, and the eastern parts of Oklahoma and Texas), and General American (everything else). But even before the field work was completed along the Atlantic Seaboard, Kurath found it necessary to propose a new grouping : (1) in vocabulary, and grammar, and in many aspects of pronunciation, the speech of eastern New England

agreed strikingly with that of western New England, the Hudson Valley, and upstate New York, although each of these areas often had peculiarities of its own; (2) the area of so-called "General American" was bisected by a major dialect boundary running east and west across northern Pennsylvania, separating Pennsylvania speech-forms from those brought to upstate New York by settlers from New England; (3) the historical South was bisected by a similar major boundary, running from northeast to southwest along the crest of the Blue Ridge in Virginia and through the piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia, setting off the plantation areas settled by expansion from the coast from the area of small farms settled by south-westward migration of the Ulster Scots from Pennsylvania. Thus the new analysis of American dialect patterns recognizes a Midland speech area comprising Pennsylvania and derivative settlements, sets up a Northern speech area comprising not only all New England and New York City but the Hudson Valley and Upstate New York, and restricts the term "Southern" to the plantation country of the coastal plain and the lower piedmont. The South Midland, comprising southern West Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley, and the piedmont and mountain areas of the Carolinas and Georgia, is basically a transition area, Midland in settlement origins but from the beginning under cultural influence from such Southern centres as Richmond and Charleston; the folk vocabulary is still predominantly Midland, but cultivated pronunciation often shows features of prevailing Southern patterns.

The new division into Northern, Midland, and Southern was originally proposed to account for the distribution of the folk vocabulary along the Atlantic Seaboard. However, the same general dialect division is revealed by grammar and pronunciation. Futhermore, in both the North Central States and the Upper Midwest—regions in which the traditional "General American" is supposed to prevail—it is easy to set off Northern and Midland speech areas, though (as one would expect of derivative settlement areas) the divisions are nowhere so clear as they are along the Atlantic Coast. In the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Coast, the picture is further complicated by the crossing of routes of trade and migration; nevertheless, these regions, too, have their dialect areas and reflect the settlement patterns of the Atlantic Seaboard and the Mississippi Valley. In short, the term "General American" is now recognized as valid only for those regions about which we as yet do not know enough to set up local dialect areas.

Although the Linguistic Atlas project is by far the most extensive survey of American dialects, and in its ultimate effects the most important, it is by no means the only significant investigation in recent years. C. K. Thomas of Cornell University has collected samples of the speech of some 15,000 Americans, most of them in recent years, on recording tape. His evidence is collected principally by means of a read text, in which are buried the words in whose pronunciation he is especially interested; to obtain the wide coverage of these items he has naturally had to ignore questions of grammar and vocabulary and to restrict the phonological

investigation to selected features. Within these limits, however, he is able to give an accurate picture of the statistical frequency of variant pronunciations in areas of divided usage, a situation that is characteristic of much of the United States. In general, the dialect areas his evidence reveals coincide rather closely with those set off by the Atlas investigations; where the two series differ, the explanation may be found in the fact that Thomas's informants, college undergraduates, are both younger and more sophisticated (and possibly somewhat more impressionable) than those interviewed for the Atlas.

Another investigation parallel to that of the Atlas is Allan F. Hubbell, *The Pronunciation of English in New York City: Vowels and Consonants* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1950). Using some of the Atlas records which Mrs. Frank employed for her dissertation, but supplementing them with extensive data of his own, including detailed mechanical recordings, Hubbell reaches essentially the same conclusions as the other study, a fact which increases confidence in both works.

Nor have scholars neglected the evidence from written records of an earlier period. *Early New England Pronunciation* by Anders Orbeck (Ann Arbor, Michigan, George Wahr, 1927) utilizes seventeenth-century town records from eastern Massachusetts. More recently the students of Norman Eliason, at the University of North Carolina, have utilized the Southern Historical Collection in their library: a vast assortment of documents, most of them localized and dated and many with detailed information about the age, education, and social status of the writers. Eliason himself has published a popular interpretation of the data, *Tarheel Talk* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina University of North Carolina Press 1956). One of his students, Edward Stephenson, has completed a doctoral dissertation on North Carolina pronunciation in the eighteenth century; others have prepared masters' theses on the evidence found in various groups of documents.

While scholars have systematically investigated the regional and social distribution of selected linguistic forms, or the kind of evidence to be found in particular sources, they have given somewhat less attention to the original aim of the American Dialect Society; to prepare a dialect dictionary comparable to Wright's work in England. This work suffered not only from the general decline of interest in the Dialect Society during the 1930's, but from the loss of the file of slips that had been assembled toward the proposed dictionary. To fill the gap, Harold Wentworth published his *American Dialect* Dictionary (New York, Thomas Y. Orwell Co., 1944), utilizing the articles in *Dialect Notes* and the newer journal *American Speech* along with a great deal of independent reading and investigation. Though a useful work and a monument to Wentworth's patience and energy, ths book revealed what many scholars had previously stated : that the compilation of a dialect dictionary was beyond the power of any one man.

Accordingly, when the Dialect Society was reorganised in 1942, plans for its dictionary were again given a high priority and the members were invited to contribute. Unfortunately, however, during the war years and immediately thereafter, most of the professional scholars who might have been expected to give direction to the Society were busy with other interests, and most of the devoted amateur contributors were content to produce the same kind of desultory word lists that had appeared half a century earlier. Realizing that more systematic work would be necessary, Frederic Cassidy of Wisconsin, one of the fieldworkers for the North-Central states, set himself to devising a questionaire for exploring the common vocabulary equally well by correspondence and by personal interview. With the aid of research funds from the University of Winconsin he has conducted a detailed examination of the folk vocabulary of that state, and is in the process of editing his materials for publication 6. His methods have been applied to other areas, notably by Saunders Walker's study of the speech of the East Alabama Negro (MS dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1956) and James Broaddus's examination of the folk vocabulary of Estill County, Kentucky (M. A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1958). Mrs. Kathleen Byrne is now preparing a similar survey of the vocabulary of western Pennsylvania.

Although a dialect dictionary in the strict sense of the word is yet to be prepared, two large-scale treatments of the development of the vocabulary of English in the New World have been prepared : *the Dictionary of American English* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938-44), edited by the late Sir William Craigie, and the *Dictionary of Americanisms* (Chicago, 1951), by Mitford M. Mathews. Although the two works cover much of the same ground, their emphases differ : the DAE is essentially an American supplement of the Oxford Dictionary, avoids slang and dialect, and generally stops at 1900; the DA emphasizes the American contribution, includes a great deal of slang and dialect, extends its scope to 1920 with frequent citations as late as 1949, and offers pronunciations and many illustrations. With a new perspective, Allen Walker Read of Columbia University is completing a Dictionary of Briticisms, an examination of the purely insular developments in the English language since 1600.

The contacts between English and other languages in the United States have brought about extensive borrowing in both directions. Moreover, since the speakers of other languages like those of English, usually are descended from speakers of several dialects in their European homeland, dialect mixture can be expected, and does occur, in those languages too. The extent to which these problems might be of interest to scholars is revealed both in a survey by Mencken and in the agenda of a conference on non-English dialects held in connection with the Linguistic Institute of 1940. 7 Among the better descriptions of such dialects are Seifert and Reed's of Pennsylvania German, Haugen's of Wisconsin Norwegian, Pap's of New England Portuguese, and

Macris's of New York City Greek. 8 In a special category is Lorenzo Turner's study of Gullah, the creolized Negro-English of the South Carolina and Georgia coasts. 9 As a result of Turner's work, the evidence from linguistic geography, and a more scientific attitude toward racial problems, the English of the American Negro is now being studied as a variety of language in its own right, not as merely a quaint perversion of standard English. 10.

The new structural linguistics has also had its effect on the study of dialects. The structural approach emphasizes the similarities and differences between dialects—or languages—in terms of the organization of their systems. 11 The most widely publicized of the structural approaches is that outlined by George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., both formerly of the U.S. Department of State and now the University of Buffalo. 12. To date, regrettably, their published statements are little more than very broad outlines, so that discussions of the validity of specific arguments have been as abstruse and heated as the theological controversies of the fourth and sixteenth centuries. Two conferences at the University of Texas have discussed a number of specific disputed points, but rather inconclusively. Undoubtedly the future will see more detailed attempts to compare American dialects in structural terms.

With the spread of rural electrification and the development of portable and relatively inexpensive recording apparatus, it is certain that tape recordings will be increasingly important in future dialect work, especially that of a structural nature. So far, tape recordings have been used chiefly as an auxiliary to field work—to shorten the interiews, catch phonological and grammatical variants, and provide a permanent record of the informant's responses. Structural linguistics, however, has made it clear that a description of the language must include on the phonological level not only information about the nature and distribution of the "segmenal phonemes"—vowels and consonants—but about the "supra-segmental" ones: stress, pitch, and juncture (transitions and terminals). 13 If these phenomena are a part of the linguistic system, there should be regional and social differences in their occurrence and even in their phonetic description, just as one finds with vowels and consonants some of the disagreements among structural linguists seem to arise from the fact that such differences occur, but are not taken into account in the descriptions. To work out a basis for interdialectal comparisons among the suprasegmental phenomena will not be easy. Comparisons are best handled by setting up frames of reference; yet the suprasegmentals are the first details of a language to be distorted by an artificial context. The answer seems to lie in recording large stretches of unrehearsed utterances in natural situations where the informants are off guard, then patiently searching the evidence for a basis of comparison. As for every other kind of linguistic research, all that is needed is money and competent investigators and the latter are harder to find. Nevertheless we may expect in the next decade a number of exhaustive investigations of specific dialects, in all their ramifications.

It is apparent that though the dialect situation in the United States is somewhat different from that in the British Isles, there is little peculiarly 'American' about the investigations. Rather, as one should expect to find anywhere in any science, the investigators have drawn on the experience of their predecessors, adapted old methods to new situations and new technical aids, and (where the evidence has suggested new directions for investigation) sought to devise methods for discovering all the relevant data and presenting it fully and accurately.

FARMING TERMS

By A. W. BOYD.

With the hope that members of the Lancashire Dialect Society would engage in a little "field work," a questionnaire on farming terms was drawn up for distribution in Lancashire and Cheshire. Although few members took part, a number who were not members helped by investigating, and answers were collected from a fair number of farmers in both counties. Wirral in Cheshire and North Lancashire-over-Sands were both neglected.

The following are the names of investigators to whom our thanks are due: Cheshire—D. Summerfield, Mrs. C. M. Hodgkinson, A. W. Boyd, T. G. Dixon, A. M. Haworth, G. T. Jury, Rev. F. Hankinson, Sir A. G. Haworth, Bt. (Mr. Jury supplied several papers.)

The following filled in the form. To save space they will be referred to later under numbers:

CHESHIRE

1 Sir A. G. Haworth, Bt., Peover.
2 A. W. Boyd, T. Gibbons, and H. Acton, Antrobus and Gt. Budworth.
3 W. Haslam, Bramhall.
4 F. Hankinson, Dean Row.
5 A. Smallwood, Middlewich.
6 A. Massey, Chelford.
7 J. R. Moreton, Leighton, nr. Crewe.
8 F. A. Mare, Nantwich.
9 C. W. Hobson, Faddiley.
10 A. R. Cheers, Alpraham.
11 W. S. Walker, Doddington.
12 Mr. Barber, Snr., Langley, E. Cheshire.
13 W. H. Rutter, Churton, S. Cheshire.
14 J. Capper, Dee Valley, E. of Chester.

LANCASHIRE

Investigators: G. H. Heywood, Mrs. A. Miller, Alan Clegg (N.F.U.), N. Carr, E. Winders, Mrs. E. E. Instone, J. A. Haworth, E. R. Foulds, and Sir H. Parkinson, who was most helpful.

15 P. Rogers *(etal.)*, Glazebury, S. Lancashire.
16 D. I. Winterbottom, Altham, Accrington.
17 E. Moon, Oswaldtwistle.
18 H. Kippax and W. Dent, Briercliffe, nr. Burnley.
19 T. Carter, Lancaster (Quernmore).
20 N.F.U. Branch Meeting, Garstang area.
21 J. Bradley and A. C. Lucas, Blackburn.
22 E. Shorrock, Salesbury.
23 W. Bracewell, Wycollar, nr. Colne.
24 J. S. Towers, Hornby (Camp House Farm).
25 T. W. Halhead, Hornby (Butt Yeats Farm).
26 Sir H. Parkinson, Hornby.
27 H. Beck, Tatham, Bentham.

For comparison, two replies from W. Yorkshire, nr. the Lancashire border, were obtained by Col. King-Wilkinson.

28 E. Rigby, Slaidburn.
29 F. Wood, Slaidburn.

and one from Shropshire by A. W. Boyd.

30 B. Davis, Whincott, Keysett, nr. Clun.

and one from Northants.

31 W. H. Eason, Northants.

E.D.D. is the English Dialect Dictionary.

The numbers given in brackets indicate the informant of each word as given at the beginning of this paper.

BUILDINGS

(a) Cowshed.

Shippon is the word universally used (1 to 11 and 13 to 14), (16 to 27), (28 and 29), except that at Hornby and Bentham, Lancs., *Shippon* is quoted.
Byre is used as an alternative name in Faddiley, Cheshire (9), and Oswaldtwistle, Lancs. (17).

(b) Pigstye.

Pig cote is the usual Cheshire word (1, 2, 3, 5, 6), but *stye* is also used (4, 8, 13). In Lancashire there is more variety.
Pig cote is quoted three times (16, 21, 22), and is written coyte and coit in the last two.
Pig hull, a north-country word (E.D.D.) (24, 25, 27).
Pig hole or hoil (18, 25, 26, 28, 29), and *pig crew* (19, 20).

The E.D.D. gives *Cree* as the usual spelling, a north-country word, evidently of limited use.

(c) Hen house.

Hen cote is the usual Cheshire word (2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 23).

Fowl cote (7, 8), *hen pen* (4), *coop* (9).

In Lancashire *hen cote* is unusual (17, 21)—written coyte.

Hen cabin is more often used (16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24).

Hen hoil [hole] (18, 28, 29), *hen crew* (25), and *hen hut*, Lancs., and just over the Yorks. border (25, 28, 29).

(d) Hen house over stye.

Hen hurdle is used in Cheshire (2, 3, 6), but in Lancs. only at Glazebury in the south (15).

Hen roost or simply *roost*. In Cheshire (1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12).

Hen loft or *cock loft* in Cheshire (3, 9, 10), and in Lancs. (16, 20, 23, 25, 27), in Yorks. (28, 29).

(e) Cart shed.

Usually called *cart shed* or *implement shed* or *cart house*.

In Cheshire also *shoring* (1), *drift house* (5).

In Shropshire *wain house* (30), in Northants *wagon hovel* (31).

PARTS OF BUILDINGS

(a) Loft.

In Cheshire *bauks (or balks)* is the usual word (1 to 6, 9, 10, 12, 14).

In Lancashire *bauks* in various spellings (15, 19, 21, 24, 26), and in W. Yorks. (28, 29), hay bauks (23).

Loft or *hay loft* seldom used in Cheshire (2, 7, 8, 12), in Lancs. (18, 22).

In Lancashire, especially E. *scaffold* (21, 24, 25, 27), and *scaffet* (20),—a word not known in this sense in the E.D.D., except as a coal mining term for a platform—in Northumberland.

(b) Round hole in wall of loft.

Throughout Cheshire *pitch hole* (1 to 10) and (12 to 14), *pitch* (11).

In E. Cheshire *larp hole* (i.e., loop hole) is used for the narrow ventilation in a barn wall.

In Lancs. *loop hole* (15, 21), *pitch hole* in S. Lancs. only (15).

Forking hole is the usual word (16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24 to 28), and in Yorks. (28, 29).

Loading hole is given as an alternative (18) (at Briercliffe).

Bob hole (20) is not given in the E.D.D.

(c) Cowstall.

In Cheshire *boose* (2, 4), or *boosy* (9); otherwise *stall* is used.

In Lancashire *boose* or *boost* (15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25). (*Stall* rarely quoted).
In Yorks. *boost* or *boostings* (29).

(d) Passage in front of stall.
In Cheshire invariably *bing*, *fother-bing* or *fodder bing* (1 to 14).
In Lancashire *gang* takes the the place of bing, except at Glazebury in the south and Briercliffe (15, 18).
Thus *gang*, *fother gang* or *fodder gang* are used (15 to 26).
Once *fotheram* (27). *Range* is quoted from Briercliffe and Hornby (18, 25). The E.D.D. quotes this use from W. Lancs. only.

(e) Drain behind cows.
Group is used throughout Cheshire (1 to 3, 5 to 14). *Gutter* quoted twice (3, 4).
Group throughout Lancashire (15 to 21, 24 to 28). *Gutter* (22).
Grip once at Garstang (20).

(f) Step or kerb behind cows.
In Cheshire *heel tree* or *heel tread* are the usual words (2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13).
Off bed into group (8), and *coursey* (=causey). (E.D.D. quotes N. Ireland, N. England, and Shropshire in this sense.)
In Lancashire:
Settle tree (17, 18).
Settle stone (19, 25, 26).
Heel stone (20, 21). *Pad stone* (20), an alternative to heel stone.
Cattle stone (24).
Leg stone (27).
In Yorkshire:
Legging stone (28).
Walk (29).
Buttock (16), not known to the E.D.D. in this sense.

(g) Division between stalls.
In Cheshire almost invariably *boskin* (1 to 3, 5 to 7, 11, 12 to 14), spelt also bosgin and bosking.
Boskin throughout Lancashire (15 to 27). W. Yorks. *boskin* (28) and *bosking* (29).

(h) Hayrack.
In Cheshire *cratch* was the only word given (1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9 to 13).
In Lancashire *cratch* is only quoted at Glazebury, the area nearest to Cheshire (15).
Otherwise use the word *rack*, and one *heck* (spelt hack usually in E.D.D.).
Boose front at Wycollar (23).

(i) Part for sliding ring for chain in stall.

In Cheshire:

Ranch stake (2, 5).
Ratch stake (3, 6, 12).
Ran or *reen stake* (1, 10).
Rail stake (13).
Reed stake (14).
Boosey stake (7, 8).

In Lancashire:

Rod stake (15, 17), *cow stake* (16), *boose* or *boost stake* (18, 19, 20, 24, 27).
Bou stake (Yorks. 28 and 29). *Frambles* (23) more properly the iron that fastens the cow to the boose stake (E.D.D.).

(j) Wooden bar round cow's neck.

In Cheshire:

Cradle (2, 7), *yoke* (7).

In Lancashire:

Yoke (16, 18, 19, 25).
Cow tie (22, 26, 27).
Cow tilt (21), not recorded in E.D.D.
Woodband or *seal* (29), not in E.D.D.

In Shropshire and Northants: *Yoke* (30, 31).

(k) Stool.

In Cheshire:

Stoo or *stool* (2, 3, 7, 12, 13), often *milking stool.*
Buffet (5).

In Lancashire:

Stoo or *stool* (16, 17, 22), or *milking stool.*
Coppy (20, 24, 25, 26, 27).
Buffet (18).

(l) Two-foot board in barn door.

In Cheshire:

Barn flake (2).
Flag (5).
Clap door (7).
Little barn door.

In Lancashire:

Threshet (20), in E.D.D. only quoted as flail.
Little barn door (24).

In Yorkshire:

Tripple hole (29), not in E.D.D.

(m) Open shed at back of other building.

In Cheshire:

Lean-to (1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14).
Shoring (2, 9), *cattle* and *stock yard* (5, 6).

In Lancashire:
Lean-to (and leyn-to) (16, 17, 20, 23 to 26).

In N.W. Yorkshire:
Lean-to (28, 29).

In Shropshire:
Hovel (29).

In Northants:
Lean-to (31).

(n) Eaves.
In Cheshire and Lancashire *eaves*, except where *easing* is the word (2, 5, 6, 14, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27).

In Yorkshire:
Easing (29).

IMPLEMENTS

(a) Two-prong hayfork.
In Cheshire:
Pikel (1 to 14) throughout.

In Lancashire:
Pikel (15 to 18).
Pike fork (20).
Pitch fork (23, 25, 26, 27).
Hay fork (24).

In Yorkshire:
Pickel (29).

In Shropshire:
Pickel (30).

In Northants:
Pike or *pitch fork* (31).

(b) Three-prong fork.
Not regularly used.
From Slaidburn, Yorks., comes the note: "Out of use. First made in 1887 in the drought summer."

In Cheshire:
Not used near Gt. Budworth (2).
Garden fork (3), *reaching* or *pitch fork* (4), *litter fork* (7), *three-prong pickel* (8), *yelve*, given at Faddiley (9). although this is usually used for a four-prong fork.

In Lancashire:
Grass fork (16), *garden fork* (17), *reaching fork* (22), *three-grain* (23).

In Yorkshire:
Bent fork (28).

In Shropshire:
Three-prong pickel (30).

(c) Four-prong fork.

In Cheshire:

Potato or *tater fork* (2, 3).
Muck fork (5).
Yelve (7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14).

The distribution of the word yelve is interesting. It is quite unknown in the Gt. Budworth district, but 20 miles S.E. and to the south of that is in regular use.

In Lancashire:

Muck or *manure fork* (16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27).
Gripe (25).

In Yorkshire:

Muck fork (26, 27).

In Shropshire:

Long fork (30).

In Northants:

Muck fork (31).

(d) Five-prong fork.

In Cheshire:

Muck or *manure fork* (2, 3, 7).
Potato or *root fork* (5).
Yelve or *potato yelve* (11, 13).

In Lancashire:

Muck or *manure fork* (8, 9, 24).
Five-grained fork (11, 23, 24).

In Yorkshire:

Muck fork (28, 29).

(e) Handle of hay fork.

In Cheshire:

Stale (1, 2, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14).
Shaft (3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12).

In Lancashire:

Stale or *steel* (18, 19, 27).
Shaft (16, 20, 24, 25, 26).

In Yorkshire:

Shaft (28, 29).

In Shropshire and Northants:

Stale (30, 31).

(f) Bill hook.

In Cheshire:

Stanching hook (2).
Switch hook (3).
Brummock (5).
Others call it a *bill hook.*

In Lancashire:
Slasher (15).
Slashing hook (22).
Otherwise a *bill hook*

In Yorkshire:
Fencing hook (29).

In Shropshire:
Brummock (30).

(g) Sickle shaped hook for clearing bank of grass.

In Cheshire:
Almost always *badging hook* (1 to 8, 10 to 12, 14).
Cop hook (9).
Sickle (13).

In Lancashire:
Badging hook (15, 20).
Snazing hook (19).
Sheaving hook (24).
Slashing hook (27).
Slant hook (15).
Sickle (16, 22, 23, 25, 26).

In Yorkshire:
Slashing hook (29).
Sickle (28).

In Shropshire:
Sickle (30).

In Northants:
Fagging hook (31).

(h) Plough.

Usually *plough*, but in both Cheshire and Lancs. *plou* (2, 3, 17, 20, 25, 26, 27), generally the normal pronunciation.

(i) Parts of plough.

(i) Joint of ploughshare.
In Cheshire *suck* (1 to 3, 5 to 13), and in Lancs. (15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24 to 27).

(ii) Mould board.
In Cheshire:
Reest (2).
Breast (1).
Shell or *shell board* (7, 9, 10, 11, 13).

In Lancashire:
Reast (15, 20).
Reath (18).
Breast (19).
Otherwise *mould board* used.

In Shropshire and Northants:
Shell board (30, 31).

(iii) Perforated iron bar in front part behind coulter.
In Cheshire:
Buck (1, 2, 6 to 11, 13).
In Lancashire:
Buck (15, 19, 20, 25, 26).
(iv) Handles.
In Cheshire:
Stilts, also in Lancs., Yorks. the only name given.
Tails in Shropshire (30).

(j) Blood-letting instrument.
In Cheshire:
Fleam (2, 5).
Flayers (14). *Flayers* not in E.D.D.
In Lancashire:
Fleam (24, 27).
Gulley (19).
Frams (18). Not in E.D.D.
In Yorkshire:
Fleam (29).

(k) Ordinary farm cart.
In Cheshire:
Box or *block cart* (2).
Block cart (14).
Tumbrel (5, 7, 8).
From Dean Row comes a note:
Two wheels: cart.
Four wheels: waggon.
Four wheels, flat, no sides: lorry, float (4).
In Lancashire:
Shandry (17).
Stiff cart (20).
Box cart (29).
In Northants:
Dung cart (31).
Often just *cart* is the word used.

CATTLE

(a) Cattle generally.
In Cheshire:
Bastes (2) or *byeets* (3).
Stock (4, 5, 7, 9).
Kine (11).
In Lancashire:
Beasts (16, 19, 22, 25).
Beeasts (17, 18, 21).
Beas (20).
Stock (27).

(b) Cows.

In Cheshire:

Kyes (2, 3).
Kye (9).
Kine (7. 14)
Cay (5).

In Lancashire:

Beasts (25, 27).
Cairs (17), is probably an attempt to write as pronounced.

In Yorkshire:

Bease and *beasts* (28, 29).

In Northants:

Beasts (31).

(c) Cow past calf-bearing.

In Cheshire:

She-bull (2).
Barren (16).
Old screw (5).
Turn-off (9, 13).
Martin (6).
Screw (23).

In Lancashire:

Barran (16).
Geld or *gelt* (18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27).
Cast (25).

PIGS

(a) A litter.

In Cheshire:

Belly or *bally* (2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14).

In Lancashire:

Farth (20).

In Shropshire:

Belly.

In Yorkshire:

Only *litter* quoted.

(b) Smallest pig of litter.

In Cheshire:

Rit is the usual word (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14).
Runt (1, 9).
Reckling (14).

In Lancashire:

Recking used throughout (15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25. 26, 27).
Runt quoted as an alternative (15, 20).

In Yorkshire:
Reckling (28, 29).
In Shropshire:
Runt (30).
In Northants:
Dillon (31). (Dilling-pig in E.D.D.)

(c) Bent piece of wood passed through leg-sinews of that pig.
Cambrell, also spelt *gambrel* and *gambril*, and usual word in Cheshire and Lancs. and in W. Yorks. Spelt *cameron* in E. Lancs.
The only other word quoted is *stang* (20).

SICKNESS OF ANIMALS

(a) Inflamed udder.
In Cheshire:
Garget (1, 7, 9).
Garget in the elder (12).
Gargelt elder (2).
Inflamed bag (3).
In Lancashire:
Garget (16, 19, 20, 21).
Gargle (14).
Fellon (24, 25, 26, 27)—spelt felon.
In Yorkshire:
Fellon (28, 29)—for swollen or hard udder.
In Shropshire and Northants:
Garget.

(b) Swollen or hard udder.
In Cheshire:
Wedged elder (1, 2).
Hard bag (3, 9).
Hard quarter (13).
Gargit or *fallin in the bag* (12).
Gargle (23).
Hogged (6).
In Lancashire:
Fellon (16, 19, 21).
Garget (19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27).
In Yorkshire:
Fellon (28, 29).
In Shropshire:
Garget (30).
In Northants:
Garget (31).

(c) Hard lump in teat.

In Cheshire:

Thunk (2, 5, 7, 13, 23).
Pea (1, 6, 9, 12).
Lump in t'pap (3).
Gristler up (12).
Knot (14).

In Lancashire:

Pea or *pey* (16, 18, 19, 22).
Pey i't'tit (17).
Pea in a pap (20).
Knot (24, 27).
Thunk (14).

In Yorkshire:

Pea (28, 19).

In Northants:

Pea (31).

(d) Inflamed foot.

In Cheshire:

Foul (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14).

In Lancashire:

Foul (19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27).
Foul in foot (17).
Fauil foot (18).
Stinking foul (23).
Bush foot (21).

In Yorkshire:

Stinking foul (28) or *foul* (29).

In Shropshire:

Foultt (30).

In Northants:

Foul (31).

(e) Cough.

In Cheshire:

Hosk or *yosk* (2).
Hoskin (3).
Husk (5, 6, 12).
Hoose (11).
Yask (9, 13).
Tussocky (4).

In Lancashire:

Usk (15).
Husk (16).
Hoosing (27).
Hoose (25).
Yask (23).

Yosk (18).
Ooze (21).
Bruff (20).

In Yorkshire:
Oose (28), and *hoose* (29).

In Shropshire:
Yask (30).

NOISES OF ANIMALS

(a) Cows.

(i) Low.

In Cheshire:
Blart (2, 6, 9, 11, 13).
Bawk (8, 12).
Moo (3).

In Lancashire:
Bawl used throughout (16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27).
Moo (25).

In Yorkshire:
Humming (29).

(ii) Bellow.

In Cheshire:
Bawk (2, 5, 9, 13).
Blart (1, 4, 5, 7, 10).
Bawl (7, 23).
Belder (12).
Belther (3).
Moo (3, 7).

In Lancashire:
Bawk (16, 20).
Bellow or *beller* (17, 19, 27).
Bawl (22, 24, 25).

In Yorkshire:
Bawl (29).

In Shropshire:
Bellow (30).

(b) Dog.

(i) Whine.

In Cheshire:
Wizzen (2, 5).
Howl, whine, yelp, whimper, yowl, all quoted, but scarcely in answer to this question.

In Lancashire:
Howl, yowl, whine, cry, all quoted.

DIALECT OF A SEAPORT

By Frank Shaw.

A NEW WHICKER.

Clothes are by no means despised by Dicky Sam *

When the growing lad first went into Longies his Mam—for Dad never does owt in the house lest he be termed a Mary Ann or OLD QUILT—would get a CHEQUE ON THE KNOCKER (a permit to trade on credit) and take him to a store or Flemings Up The Steps. (a cheap shop in Scotland Road specially catering for hard-up youth).

There she would demand that the lad be shown a BLOCKER.

The Blocker is a bowler and signified with a blue-serge suit the utmost respectability. Liverpool had a peculiar-shaped bowler with a rocking-horse brim. Althought it was a firm called Lock's which first made the billycock for Billy Coke. I don't think the hats started as "Lockers' but that the name comes from the block over which the felt was pulled for hard hats;† a different process from that used for trilbies and such soft hats.

Foremen and other COD-BOSSES wear blockers, some say to prevent injury when bricks, rivets and such accidentally fall from above. Hence BLOCKER-MEN for supervisors of any kind. A person getting too big for himself may be asked with fierce irony "Whur's yewr blocker ?"

More usual is the DECKER This, a peaked cap, is rarely so termed nowadays. It comes from the sailor's peaked cap which apprentice engineers (or CAN-LADS) used to wear; they dipped them in oil the first day they acquired them. Later it referred to any cap.

It is bad manners to wear anything else at a football match (or "footee"). Some very respectable men have a most desperate-looking cap to wear to matches.

A large peak on a cap is called mockingly a LETTING-BOARD, a phrase taken from pigeon-fancying.

When straw hats were worn they were called as elsewhere, cadies, ("Where did you get that hat, where did you get that cady ?") but preferred was STRAW GUSSIE. Gussie suggests bay window poshness. A topper is TOP SHINER. A small hat is called a PIMPLE ON A MOUNTAIN.

* On the name Dicky Sam, I said I could not trace source. Lately a new hotel has been opened in Liverpool and it has two bars, one called Tom Hall's, after a well-known Edwardian licensee of a now demolished pub, and another Dicky Sam's after another. Dicky Sam's was on the former Mann Island and you were a Scouser if you were born—as with the Cockney and Bow Bells—in that vicinity. In both cases the narrow classification can no longer be held as valid.

† Liverpool author John Brophy, a former draper, concurs.

A WHICKER is a suit. This probably comes from WHISTLE also used for suit. I would like to believe it referred to the whistle which tailors gave little boys with their suits years ago (as barbers gave pencils and a famous stores balloons) but it is obviously from rhyming slang, whistle-and flute* Cheap suits could shrink; but there was always the Dockers' Umbrella.

THE DOCKER'S UMBRELLA? Whats dat? It's the only one he would use though the cotton 'clurks' always carried rolled ones, wet or fine. The docker's umbrella is the Overhead Railway under which he used to walk on wet days; now, alas, demolished.

The ship's steward type influences fashions and once Stetson hats were all the go, as most of our passenger vessels were on the Western Coast (never called Atlantic).

"If yew can't fight wur er big 'at".

Therefore were the ship's crews called COWBOYS.

The young Liverpudlian was always TONEY. Now he fancies the loud tie, the unusual cut, bright colours. Usually he looks very well-groomed. He is said these days to have his long hair waved. Once long hair caused derision and shouts of

"Starve duh barber."

In the twenties a close (or Bostno) CROP was affected and the JAZZERS of the day were as extreme as any Teddy-boys in the cut of their suits in red and purple colourings, the width of their "Oxford" bags, the point of their patent-leather shoes. Then the girls wore "Valentino" hats and had bells on their garters. Now they dress very well.

An earlier male generation had worn bell-bottomed trousers (the marine influence) with high-heeled shoes. Cheap suits were MARTIN'ENRIES. (From the peculiar cut introduced by a gentleman of that name, for I believe workhouse suits). People getting clothes by charity had always to have their clothes clearly suggesting their origin as also with the "home-boys" buttoned up short coat, the orphan's clogs and corduroys. It was to hinder pawning.

Hatless men got the razz for many years but women often went bare-headed. The older ones wore men's caps or a shawl. Now all get hair-waves—often on "glad and sorry" or hire-purchase from shops proudly announcing 'No frizz'.* Yet their hair is no lovelier than those great piles the market women had, on top of which they carried weights which would be the despair of a BADGE-PORTER

* "God-forbids" for kids, "Tod Sloan" for alone; "Old King Cole" for dle; "ship's hattch" for match; "skin and blister" for sister; "five-to-two" for Jew; "ball and chalk" for walk; "Holy Ghost" for Post; we also borrow from back and middle slang occasionally and freely (e.g. SNIP) from the cant of the racecourse. But they are usually spiv types who use it; trying to puzzle the eavesdropper (EARWIGGER). Spix, a Hull scouser insists, also started by the Mersey, Lord forgive us.

* Only men have the custom of banging a wet hand on a newly-cropped poll saying "First wet!"

and they swayed along with infinite and effortless grace in their wide linsey petticoats. (Liverpool porters are licensed and controlled by the police and wear a little red badge. † They are great weight-lifters, although usually small and lean—"not a pick on um", "not anough fat to fry a egg".)

The American influence occurs again when we get trousers and waistcoats described as "PANTS AND VEST". KECKS once common for trousers may have Welsh origin. Eric Partridge says it is a variation of Kicks, used elsewhere.

Kicks were boots until the last century. STRIDES for trousers is our very own. The word comes, via the theatre, from tailors' cant. Boots are now BEETLE-CRUSHERS.

Small boys here—as in Dublin—always wore a GANSEY which is clearly a corruption of Guernsey.

The bits of string navvies still wear round their moleskins are called BOWYANKS.

† The newspaper lads had badges too, called a BELT and woe betide one if his Captain (the COSHER) found him without it. As to women carrying mighty bundles, one little person leaving the wash-house whom I met while doing a B.B.C. show said, "It's the on'y 'at what suits me!"

A BEVVY AND A ROWDY DO.

"Is it a party in the parlour?" . . . Wordsworth.

"t was a smashin' do," said my friend Jud. "We 'ad a gear gear time. Jars out. All de talint wus dere an' ev'body wus bevvied". Now all Liverpolitans do not speak this "scouse" lingo but most of them would understand what Jud was taking about. There is nothing particularly native to the city's way of speech about "smashing" (an adjective surely now due for retirement) and "do". Liverpudlians of all classes like dos, they love a party. All would not, however, have enjoyed the one so vividly described by Jud. A backstreet festival of Liverpool.

It sounds as if it was a "rowdy" do, and a rowdy do is something peculiar to Liverpool though many other towns may emulate these social get-togethers, which are often quite spontaneous. For special occasions such as a birthday (especially a "tweny-first"), funeral or wedding, extraordinary efforts will be made.

Large quantities of beer will be ordered weeks beforehand; the males will be marshalled early on the evening of the big event to carry the jars, bottles, demijohns. The phrase "jars out" described such an organised affair. Beer for consumption off the premises is called FENDER ALE.

"The gear" as a phrase describing the excellence of such a party is a little more difficult to explain. One feels it is somehow

* Rowdy means low, not necessarily noisy. A house-proud woman is described as "rowdy but mest."

connected with shipping, and the stowing of gear in engine store-rooms and forepeaks, and it is not surprising to learn that it is used in shipyards outside Liverpool. For that matter it is recorded that it was used by a native servant in a remote part of India. When the sahib refused a curry dish the servant greatly puzzled him by saying "Take some, sahib, its the gear". It transpired that a number of members of the King's Liverpool's had once been stationed in the area! John Brophy, as a citizen of Liverpool and as an expert on soldier's slang, might be expected to know: he says it is an Army phrase referring to the proper stowing of regimental gear. Presumably then local soldiers picked it up between 1914 and 1918. Is there any record of the gear being used pre-1914 with the sense, more or less, which smashing has now? I recall about 1915 that "climp" was a word much used in this sense and I've seen other explanations of "the gear" or "gear' as a term of approval.

"The talint" refers to what is, in higher spheres, termed 'cafe' society and we all know "bevvied" means drunk, from "bevvy" a drink which comes from the Latin, Bibere through the Cockney bivvy. *

But let us follow the fellers from the boozer up the *broo* (hill) and along *the parapets* (sidewalks—always) to the "house whur the dos do be". The door is flung open and the party is already flowing into the court. The radio is blaring in competition with a tinny piano.

If the party-giver did not have a radio or piano she would not hesitate to go "borry" one. Poor people will lend anything—big or small to a neighbour. In the days when a gramophone was borryed the "mark" (humourist) of the company would proceed down the street with the horn on his head to the delight of the kids gathered round the "airey" railings. Inside the house beer is being consumed from stolen pint glasses. As these get broken it will be drunk from every possible vessel and from some one might not have considered possible.

And everbody is soon singing. Singing is often frowned on in Liverpool in public places. So at a do . . . Not that you can get up and just sing what you like. Woe betide the feller or tart who sings someone else's song! There is a recognised ritual in these affairs.

A chairman (a soldier home on leave, perhaps, or a donkey-man from a "monkey-boat") † calls each singer in turn. He will rise when called and as he strives to get his balance, while the pianist vamps a few opening chords, there will be loud cries of "Shush, give order, de singer is on ie's feet".

Then off he goes with "Maggie May" or The "Cruise of the Calabar" or some such old "come-all-ye". Nowadays the judies prefer crooning. Humour on the whole is not welcomed. And at some stage of the proceedings all will join in "Nellie Dean".

* In parlyarlie Bevie once a drunken man. In Mayhew.

† The well-paid African trade.

"Second chorus" yells the "churman" but he cannot suppress an obstreperous Uncle who has joined in from the start with a lowing noise described as "seconds".

When the song is ended and the singer (often unwillingly) has to yield place to another, all will chant :—

"A jolly good song, jolly well sung,
A health to the singer every-one;
If you can beat him ou're welcome to try;
But please to remember—
The singer is dry".

This is soon put right.

The drinking goes on for hours. Yet there is seldom any fighting. There may be much talk if it. The threat may be made "I'll take me coat off t' year" but there's nothing in it. Maybe a child will get a "clew on the ear" for being "too 'ard faced" but for the most part, the atmosphere is genial.

Drinking may stop for good feed of scouse or spare-rib or a dish of two of winkles ("kewins"). Tales will be told by the oldsters while the youngsters pair off and seek quiet corners. Crumbs and spilt ale will be in every part of the house. The women of the house will already be reckoning how much they will get for the empties. The air could be cut with a knife though the front door is wide open. Next day many feel ill and a dock worker or factory hand may "lose a quarter". But all will agree it was worth it. "There was beer for dogs" (i.e. plenty) "A smashing do. The gear".

Yes, bevvying or lushing ("lush" is used for drink elsewhere of course) is a way in which the poor Liverpudlian gets some light into his drab existence, not only when "jars out" is the slogan but nightly in the ale-houses. They are dull enough places, usually in early Victorian style, but Dicky Sam finds gaiety in them; they are better than the slum homes anyway. Beer is always "ale"; historically an Irish drink before porter * was heard of and as Southey quoted in his Commonplace Book, "the Catholic drink".

Dutch William brought the gin, Continental Wars had cut off wine (not a Northern tipple anyhow). A pint is the usual in a thick glass. A half-pint (quaintly called a *gill*) is bourgeois, a glass less than a pint ("a pony") being positively effeminate. Bottled beers other than stout (for ladies) and bitter beers are rather bourgeois, the drink of the cod-bosses and blocker-men. Young girls drink port generally regarded as a teetotal drink.

* "Of this strange drink, as like the Stygian Lake,
Men call it Ale, I know not what to make,
They drink it thick and pass it wondrous thin:
What store of drugs must needs remain within?"

Old poem quoted by Sir James Ware in "The Antiquities of Ireland" where he says "the ancient and peculiar drink of the Irish was Ale." In New Zealand "ale" is the high-class word.

Liverpool licensed victuallers have their own esoteric jargon of which examples are not easy to obtain and their customers have their own names for the pubs whatever they may be christened—and no doubt for the proprietors.

I can think without effort, of the following pubs called out of their names (not necessarily verified in person): Dandy Pats, The Duck House, The Muck Midden (proudly so termed by its owner), The Widows' Retreat, The Seven Steps, The Doll House, Ann's, Mabel's Ugly Mugs. There are many more. The Slaughter House is a genuine name.

Games are not allowed in the pubs as a rule and the cry of "Time gents please. Haven't youse got no 'omes " rings out long before the statutory hour of ten. If you seek another you'll be brusquely told "Towels is on!" (The throwing of towels over the beer pump-handles is a signal that sales are finished). Should one protest he'll have his "tap stopped" i.e. he won't be served next time he comes in— and the customer in these cases, is always wrong ! A sudden burst of song, which might for one second interefere with the intake of liquor or a glance at the sporting column of a newspaper may call down the wrath of these lords of the bar parlour, veritable "sawdust Caesars". Barmen and barmaids are as elsewhere, but there is much less "yes sir" and tip-seeking than in other parts of the country; and fewer spotless aprons. Anyone can pull a pint it is said, there is no professional pride. In hard times for men in employment, as now, women, who have never done it before, become "reliefin' bar'ands".

A meal can rarely be obtained in the pub and in the saloon bar of the gin-palace, where the business man in gardening garb, clutching the letter he has come out to post or the lead of the dog he has taken out for a run, sips his daring half-pint, "Crisps" do a roaring trade.

Only these suburban places are reallyy suited for more than male swilling and though women do penetrate the town pubs most Scousers feel "I cannot take my niece in mine inn". This is again reminiscent of Ireland where woman's place is most definitely in the home and the sight of a man, returned perhaps from backward England, pushing a baby in a pram causes noises of derisive mirth from both sexes.

Small wonder we over-drink and next day confess that we were lushed up or had a good few (" a good few" like a "good couple" being plenty).

A popular drink is *fally* and the mixture, beer and stout. "black and tan" is also much in demand. Another mixed drink is a BOILERMAKER.

The police often visit dockside pubs. One bar-fly will at once facetiously say to his mates, "Give yer wrong names, whacks!" Another pub. joke is to say "Whur yew goin' for yer oldies?" (holidays) and to answer, "The Falls". (Meaning Threlfall's, a well-known brewer's) "I'm going to the Bank -- The Canal Bank!" One of many pub. songs is "Bummin' for ale boys—".

"E wusn' arf eggy. Dur she wus janglin' at the door an 'is tea birnt. E effed and blinded er before all duh neighbirs. Is languige wus somthing chronick. E give er down duh banks, they 'ad hi ding dong proper".

It wasn't just his evening meal the all-important "tea", being spoilt which made him EGGY (annoyed) it was the fact of her gossiping (that choice word suggesting a clatter of tongues, JANGLING is much better) for, though the doorstep is the poor woman's club, a man intensely dislikes finding his wife there with other women. He feels he is is being stared ("sturred") at* and this the native hates. "Who yew lookin t?" he will truculently ask, "Yew'll know me next time" or "Go 'ome an look at yer mother". Is it some atavism, some fear of the evil eye? Kids have incantations,

"I made yew look, I made you stur,
I made duh barber Cut yer air".

And so two people had DOWN THE BANKS. Why this for a quarrel? It is, I suppose, possible to conjecture. It may have something to do with the banks of the canal (THE CUT) where, in the warm part, SCALDY, little boys go to swim nude in summer and in the autumn darkness lovers walk. Years ago men used to fight on the Canal bank, that is certain. But the expression occurs elsewhere, notably Dublin. In Cockneyland it is "on the cobbles." Cp. "the rounds of the kitchen." But, when love has changed to unkindliness . . . No it's another case of Achilles' name.

HI DING DONG is echoic again. Here is the clash of arms at a joust. Thackeray described Waterloo as "ding dong". A quieter row is a BARNEY. "We wus just avin a little barney wen de old girl interfered but we tirned on 'er and sent 'er flyin' down the street".

She probably retired with quiet dignity. Liverpudlians simply must exaggerate, true to the Hibernian influence. FLYING for hurried departure, STARVING for peckish, DROWNED for a little damp, MURDERED for hurt, surprise them no more than the jockey's hearers in the Somerville and Ross tale when he told of his own death.

Although "a good couple" means many and "good money" means excellent pay there are few instances of that meiosis Americans regard as the British characterstic in speech. More likely you will hear :

"Dur wus millyins er peopil, y' cud't walk on dur eads" to describe a gathering of a hundred or two; or

"No I don wan' any ciggies, I've got thousins uv thum", when maybe the speaker is down to his last NICKER.

* or "gorped at" (Lancs.)

(CIGGY, of course, is cigarette, the cheap kind being a WOODY. A smoke is a COUPLE ER DRAWS or A COUPLE ER SWALLOWS and a NICKER is the nicked-off end of a cigarette).

So with quarrels and fights. The Liverpudlian is more pugnacious in his speech than in his actions, "buckos"* excepted. A truculent manner flourishes (though the quiet lover gets round too —"without crutches" as they say).

Liverpool has seen its fights. Personal combat on the Lock Fields, bare buff, was not unknown a few years ago. My sister once spoke of seeing.

"Two ladies fighting, dad"

There have been, especially in times of unemployment (e.g. at the Walker Art Gallery in the 'twenties when Bob Tissyman and the Rev. Vint Laughland flourished), serious riots on many occasions, open hooliganism at the time of the Police Strike. Domestic squabbles are not unknown and rarely conducted in private.

On the whole the tongue is mightier than the fist and these are quite modest bouts which are so often described in such Homeric —could I say Great Homeric ?†—terms.

If in Liverpool a mother relaxes the usual excessive soft-heartedness to a hard-faced child who has MOIDERED her all day long (i.e. annoyed her)§ and gives her a GO-ALNG, FOURPENNY ONE or CLEW ON THE EAR-OLE, the neighbours will not fail to say, "Poor Sar' Ann, that ould divil give er a unmeriful 'idin' she 'alf murdhered er, 'er screams was pitiful; one er these days dat one'll give the kid a unlucky blow".

But little Sar' Ann, not murdered at all nor even MARMALISED (a handy portmanteau word using murder and paralyse), will be out playing tick five minutes after, with mam still threatening.

"I'll swing f'r yew, yew likker madam, yewr not too big for the belt, y'ard faced get" or "Yew wait, ard- Kite". There is a certain lusty hyperbole in it all. Is it strange that the glum and sunless streets, with black houses gathered together like cloaked conspirators and houses built on houses, rain gleaming on the cobblestone, should get occasional light from violent expressions, little meant ?

Of course excess of Fally or pilfered docks rum (Jungle Juice) may cause two males to SQUARE UP to one another, i.e. take up the attitude of pugilism. ("Square up" also means to settle an account as in "squr up duh taxi-feller, Jud").

Yet no blows may be struck and both heroes show a tendency to say to their supporters

* or tough fellows who "shave wid a blow-lamp."

† After a famous tough street.

§ During school holidays for they are described as "Teacher's rest, Mother's pest."

"Hold me back and let me get at im".

Afterwards each will describe how "I couldn't stand it no longer, I ad ter take me coat off to im" without saying how soon the garment was put on again.

Each will claim that he gave the other HIS COFFEE, in fact it was a DODDLE (a walk-over, dawdle) and both will say "I won im" or "I bested him"

Two kids agree to SAG SCHOOL (play truant. Dickens uses 'wag') and one decides to turn informer (i.e. SNITCH or CLAT—The rhyme in Liverpool running "Clat-tale tit—"). They begin to squabble and BETWEEN THE JIGS AND THE REELS (one thing leading to another) they come to calling each other names suggesting folly, as :— SCONEHEAD, TATA, WINNICK, DOOALLY, DAFT, BARM CAKE, NOT ELEVENPENCE FOR A SHILLING, MUGS FOR RAGS.

One cannot be narrator and philologist too but I shall pause to explain a few of these :—Tata is a mockery of genteel—therefore simple-minded people who use this word for a 'little walk.'; Winnick is from the mental asylum at Winwick, Warrington; 'Mugs for rags' is on the cries of the TATTER who deals in rags and bones but I don't know what connects the phrase with being non compos any more than I can explain why Liverpudlians sarcastically say to someone pretending to be 'thick'—"G'wan, act soft and I'll buy yuh a coal'-yard", which the most sensible of us would regard as a prize worth having.

Well the two lads nudge one another a bit and do a bit of pushing and one may well give the other a DIG IN THE CHIN or LAY ONE ON THE END OF HIS NOSE but that will be all except for the later account to fr'ends ("Giving the pay out"). "I stiffened 'im. I 'alf et 'im. E wus AWAY FR SLATES UP THE COOEY". (The latter phrase depicting fearful haste such as Coleridge described).

The citizens suffer fools (GOMS) g'adlyy enough even when they HAVE A COB ON (carrying a load of annoyance, in a temper) but how is it that they have so abuseful a vocabulary? Here are a few words and phrases intended to give all least a surface scratch :

I'LL GIVE YEW A PUCK IN THE GOB.
(Answer : IT'D TAKE A MAN NOT A SHIRT BUTTON).

I'LL CLOCK YEW IN A MINIT.
(Answer : YOU AND WHO ELSE?).

I'LL STOP YEWR PARISH.
(Answer : GIVE OVUH—YEW TALK LIKE A PENNY BOOK).

YEWR DIRTY WEN YEWR DOLLIED.
(This refers to Moral dirt. The DOLLY-PEGS and THE DOLLY-TUB will remove the other kind of dirt. A woman who did not know how to use either would be)

THE TALK ER DUH WASH-OUSE (i.e. a subject for gossip and adverse comment. Wash houses, which first appeared in Liverpool, being great places for a jangle).

DUH WOMAN IN THE DUH BACK-PARLIR KNOWS WHAT YEW ARE.

YEWR AN OULD SOONER (would sooner idle than work).

YEWR ONE ER DUH FORTIES IF DUR EVER WUS ONE (one of the forties being, as in Ali Baba, a thief).

YEW CUD TAKE IT OUT UV A NIGGER'S CLOG (i.e. you are not temperate.

G'WAN YEWR STRONG AS A BAD EGG (i.e. you are a weakling who couldn't) KNOCK DUH SKIN OFF A RICE PUDDIN or A OLE IN A WET ECHO.

G'WAN NOW, TATTY AIR (Tats are the knots in a girl's hair of which I always think when I hear of American ladies "tatting". The Army's CHATTY is also used, it came from chattels, "moveable property" I believe! YEWV DONE WELL SINCE YER MOTHER SOLD DUH RAGS (This may be merely leg-pulling; selling rags and old newspapers or getting the pennies on bottles or jars has helped may a poor household through the week when pawn-shop credit had been exhausted and the "tickets" themselves pawnd).

I'LL SPIT IN YER EYE AN' BLIND YER.

DUR'S ONE meaning "You tell a good story but I don't believe it"!

AS MEAN ASMUCK, WOUDEN GIVE YEW A SMELL UV A OIL-RAG.

COME IN DON'T KNOCK to someone who has RAN TANNED the door to excess as an official or welfare workers (BLUE LADY) might.

ME DREAMS OUT, sarcastic. "I saw something lovely in my dream and now I see you".

YEW COULDN'T BE UP TO HIM WID A STEP-LADDER or " Why do sinners' ways prosper?" (Gerald Manley Hopkins didn't like Liverpool incidentally but termed it "Indeed a most unhappy place").

WE 'AD ONE AN THE WHEEL COME OFF. An illiterate (of the kind who reading out to his fellows in the BUSH—lodging house—says "Bootle" or "Manchester" when he comes to an incomprehensible word) says this meaning :— "You are speaking words I cannot understand!" or, more like'y "Yew musta swallered er dickshunry".

YEWR NOY A COD "You are a pretender, sir". (The Irish "cod" is I think of Scandinavian origin and nothing to do with fish; it means an empty husk).

YEWR PENNY A WEEK WUS WASTED. "You are ill educated". (At first elemetary education—except in the "ragged school"—charming name— cost a penny a week).

THE NORTHCOUNTRYMAN

Edited by Stanley Williamson and Kenneth Brown

117 p.p. Dalesman Publishing Co., 1957. 12s. 6d.

The B.B.C. is often blamed for the decay in the use of dialect, but the blame is not altogether justified. Side by side with the inevitable tendency to make Standard English heard, though not necessarily spoken, all over the country, there is a healthy willingness to encourage regional interests, and *The Northcountryman* programme broadcast from the North of England has done a good deal to encourage an interest in Northern speech and traditions. The editors and publishers of this anthology are to be congratulated on their enterprise in giving a more permanent form to some of the talks that have been broadcast in this series. The talks here reproduced bear unmistakeable signs of their origin. They are all short, and each essay has a unity of interest and a striking opening, which arouses the reader's attention.

Dialect is only one of many subjects dealt with in these essays. In *Samuel Laycock and Bowton's Yard* Mr. Bill Grundy gives a remarkable concise account of the life and work of one of the best-known Lancashire poets, whose Yorkshire birth is neither here nor there. Mr. John Hewitson writes about a less famous Cumberland author, Tommy Farrall, whose *Betty Wilson's Cumberland Tyals* has nevertheless achieved a circulation of more than 26,000 copies. Mr. T. C. Calvert translates twenty verses from the New Testament into Wensleydale dialect. Mr. L. V. Bharrell, who contributed two sketches to the third issue of this Journal, writes an essay on clogs, in which he recalls the time when he was an observant Lancashire schoolboy.

This book contains forty articles in all, including a foreword by Mr. Philip Robinson. It is a book to dip into rather than one for continuous reading, but it is hard to resist the temptation to read 'just one more' essay. It is an ideal bedside book for the tired northcountryman.

G. L. B.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

G. L. Brook

224 pp. Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1958 15s.

Professor Brook's *History of the English Language* is a valuable addition to the series, *The Language Library*, which is under the general editorship of Eric Partridge. Although as is pointed out in the *Preface*, there are already many books on this particular subject, and although inevitably the present study overlaps them to a certain extent, Professor Brook's treatment is none the less sufficiently different from his predecessors' to make the book an addition to, not a repetition of, previous works.

There is a chapter on semantics (particularly likely to attract the general reader) but the history of the English vocabulary has been purposely omitted, since this is provided in other, more detailed studies. Certain chapters, such as *The Nature of Language*, must obviously be of a general character, but otherwise the subjects (such as phonology and accidence) are treated historically, through Old and Middle English to Modern English; and in one or two chapters it has been necessary to include certain aspects of Indo-European and Common Germanic, as, for example, in the chapter on phonology where the operations of Grimm's Law and Verner's Law are considered. As a result we are provided with a systematized account of the development of the language which is valuable both for understanding and for reference.

In the final chapter, *Present-Day Trends*, Professor Brook emphasizes that the types of change described in the previous chapters are not purely historical, that those linguistic phenomena —such as the raising of some slang terms to respectable usage, or the use of "It's me"—which so distress precisians, are simply evidence that our language is altering and will continue to do so.

Although Professor Brook has made a historical study, he has, however, viewed the development of the language from the standpoint of Modern English (which is the most satisfactory way for this type of book), with the result that changes which may have been important at one stage of the language, e.g. Old English feature, but which have had little or no lasting effect on it, have been omitted. Similarly, the apparently bewildering diversity of Middle English dialects has been mainly ignored, apart from those characteristics which have some significance in Modern English.

In writing this book Professor Brook has, as he states in the *Preface*, 'tried to meet the needs of university students and of the general reader who is willing to seek in the past history of our language for some explanation of the puzzling features of present-day English'. On account of this, no previous knowledge of Old English or of phonetics has been assumed, and so the more specialized chapters—*The Sounds of Speech*, *Phonology* and *Spelling*—are detailed and also closely bound together. The general reader will find much to interest and satisfy him, while for the university student, in whatever year he may be, it should represent a binding-together into a connected whole of different aspects of the history of the language, which have a tendency to be lodged in watertight compartments; and in addition he will find helpful descriptions of such difficult phenomena as ablaut.

The *Bibliography* contains a list of books, with brief remarks on their content, which will be useful to general reader and student alike, and will enable them to pursue their study with a sharpened awareness of the language which is so often used unthinkingly, but whose peculiarities are given added significance by Professor Brook's comprehensive yet compact survey.

Liverpool. Joyce Bazire.

MODERN LINGUISTICS

By SIMEON POTTER.

Andre Deutsch, 1957. 192 pp. 12s 6d.

Professor Simeon Potter is well-known to many thousands of readers as the author of the admirably clear and informative Pelican book *Our Language*. His latest book is a volume in *The Language Library* of which Mr. Eric Partridge is the General Editor. In it Professor Potter deals with the nature of language in general, but the book is especially suited to the needs of English readers. The subject of general linguistics has developed enormously during the last thirty or forty years, and a survey of the latest developments, written in a style which the general reader can understand, is to be warmly welcomed.

Like all subjects which are developing rapidly, general linguistics has acquired an extensive technical vocabulary of its own. It is not the least of the merits of Professor Potter's book that most of it is a good illustration of the truth of the remark which he quotes with approval from Ludwig Wittgenstein : "What can be said at all can be said clearly". (p 159). It is only occasionally that Professor Potter falls a victim to the love of technical language which he rightly deplores. Chapter VIII opens with an eloquent plea for simplicity of language, but the last paragraph of the preceding chapter begins with a statement which few readers will feel justified in denying : "The form-meaning relationship, therefore, may be seen to persist at all three levels : first, between segmental phonemes and semantic values; second, between words and lexical meanings; and third, between suprasegmental (and, incidentally, intersegmental) prosodemes and contextual senses". It should be emphasized, however, that this sentence is not typical of the book as a whole, and the author is as conscious as any of his readers can be of the difficulty of exactly expressing even simple ideas in simple language. There is good fun, for example, on pp. 105 f. where the author asks (with that personal approach that makes his book so readable) "Have you ever attempted to *define* a horse ? It is, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 'a solid-hoofed perissodactyl quadruped, *equus caballus*, having a flowing mane and tail, whose voice is a neigh.' " Definitions (or descriptions) of similar complexity from two other dictionaries follow.

Writers on general linguistics are fond of saying that their concern is with general principles and that they do not claim to know a lot of languages. There are dangers in this approach. The discussion of general principles without frequent illustration of particular points can become tedious for the reader and dangerous for the writer. This reproach cannot be brought against Professor Potter's book. He has a thorough knowledge of many languages and he draws examples not only from well-known languages but also from unfamiliar ones.

The part of the book which will be of most interest to readers of this *Journal* is the chapter on Linguistic Geography. This chapter provides an excellent introduction to the scientific study of dialect, and it is illustrated by maps showing the distribution of different words meaning 'rivulet' and 'to seek' in the Northern counties of England.

A few points of detail call for revision in the second edition which will no doubt be required. One may, for example, doubt whether the *x* in Spanish *Quixote* represents a voiced sound (p. 28). The phonetic symbol used to represent the *gn* in French *agneau* on p.25 is to be preferred to that given on p.11, and the method of indicating opposition (p.10) seems inadequate.

G.L.B.